

# 對人感到厭倦的邊緣男性

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Men Who Got Sick of Men

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民答那峨島地處菲律賓南端。在殖民者、民族主義者與分離主義者的眼中，民答那峨島是充滿希望的擄掠與待開發之地。位處邊陲的民答那峨島和蘇祿群島在 1903 年起納入美國軍事政府統治，成為摩洛哥省，後併入菲律賓國土，其後政治「紛擾」不斷。1961 年菲律賓政府仿效美國田納西河谷管理局的模式，成立民答那峨發展局，以開發民島為宗旨<sup>1</sup>。這兩個組織的核心理念與目標均為解決民島的問題，通稱為「民答那峨問題」或「摩洛哥問題」。

官僚系統或將民島視為衝突之地，或將民島視為經濟開發之地。其中有兩位「當地中間人」曾協調民島管理當局的計畫、政策與理想。一位是敘利亞／黎巴嫩籍的醫師兼行政官員納吉布·沙勒比（Najeeb Saleeby, 1870-1935），另一位是出身菲律賓馬萊瑙族的學者、社會學家兼策展人馬米托·薩伯（Mamitua Saber, 1921-1992）。看似由這兩位「邊緣人」啟動的疏離運動，投入與他們的「共謀」與「合作」相關的期間，當時其他人的後殖民思維的發展與行動正在運作截然不同的制度。歸化為美國公民的沙勒比在 1901 年來到菲律賓的馬京達瑙。他是美國軍事政府中重要的「阿拉伯」資產，協助指導菲律賓「自治」。而在民答那峨省的馬拉威出生的薩伯，是拉瑙當地旺族之子，對民答那峨戰後市政與文化發展有積極的貢獻，強化非都會區摩洛族的集體意志<sup>2</sup>與菲律賓作為民族國家對於整合的渴望。將這兩人從特定的文化與歷史背景投入菲律賓的歷史，重建其物質性，以一個更柔軟的呈現反饋至迴路分析。

本文呈現沙勒比與薩伯的經歷，敘說兩人在民族國家現代化的過程中扮演邊緣事務的中間人，從前殖民地經歷多次轉型，轉為內部殖民化的推手。本文觀察沙勒比與薩伯的作為。這兩人被視為指標，卻從未延續最終成為當代參考。本文引述兩人在其他文本中被視為「背景知識」的存在並加以認可，成為足以轉動理論前行的鏈條，研究「問題」、「合作」與「評論」在政治主體性中形成過程中的三角移轉。在此，我將沙勒比與薩伯視為相關體，「觀察」其強化、竄改或提供匱乏與相異性的組成。

沙勒比與薩伯在政府機關的經歷與對政府的效忠，與去殖民和後殖民化時代的整體秩序相關。因此，可將兩人視為「遞延的行動。」<sup>3</sup>除去史學上的分析推測，兩人對共通性與聯結的提議抱持較為寬容的態度，可以從新的論述角度看待其不合常理之處。對於沙勒比對雙語及／或菲律賓美式教育系統中使用的方言之論述（1924），本文的目的是要從避開「真實」或「正確」的角度，重讀沙勒比的文字及薩伯對少數民族領導者居中協調種族與宗教差異的理論（1957）。這種不在一般預期內的態度凸顯其行為的吸引力，在一個像民答那峨島這樣長年充斥各種弊病的地方，顯現邊緣性的表現意志，從新的角度切入問題、合作模式與批評論述。

## 兩個外來的軀體

我稱沙勒比與薩伯為外來者，是以其「外來性」為基礎，駁回了以無限重複的深淵建構民答那峨島早閉的身份識別結構。這些是刻意重複反映的社會秩序折射形象。這樣的折射從一個媒介轉換到另一個媒介，逐漸本地化或化為本土，這些折射具有無法重複特質，並提供驚人的間隙。理論上這兩人從未進

1 民答那峨發展局是早期區域性規劃的結果之一，目的是為開發菲律賓鄉村地區。卡洛斯總統為開發整個民答那峨島和蘇祿與巴拉望地區而實行這個計畫。

2 「摩洛」一詞後來在民答那峨島的歷史上帶有解放的意涵。「菲律賓回教徒」一詞也被用來合併稱呼菲律賓南部回教徒少數民族取得公民身份的討論。

3 延續卡亞·西爾弗曼（Kaja Silverman）〈原始透視中的識別位置與主體性的階段性發展〉，《被邊緣化的男性主體意識》（*Male Subjectivity at the Margins*）（1992）第 5 章。

入歷史<sup>4</sup>，被挖掘出來的文字與民島毫無相關，構成民島史前文獻中反直覺的去物質化實體。

我從西爾弗曼的論述中瞭解到「不可能『直接』進入歷史。」<sup>5</sup>進一步深究思考對這兩人的經歷的奇幻發想。經過其他人的入侵，想像這兩人在民答那峨島上曾經的生活、思考和想像象徵性秩序，這兩人是一種有悖常理的論述，削弱真實性的封印，控制去殖民化與後殖民化的虛構說明。這是一種試圖從史實中秘密抽離沙勒比與薩伯的嘗試。

本文認為沙勒比與薩伯的結合形成彼此相互「觸及」的連結。這種尷尬的觸及決定了他們結合的姿態。兩人從未見過面，僅在本文相遇。這種違反自然原則的誤用造成兩種現象：第一，沙勒比與薩伯成為可以閱讀和重新想像的實體。第二，受到損毀與削弱的敘述實體被納入政治環境的「景觀」，而這個世界被主體性的主要引導者以華麗的言詞否決或內化的<sup>6</sup>。這樣的結合體根本上是外來物，是兩個在實體上和象徵意義上均屬於邊緣的男人的結合。沙勒比與薩伯和多數違反常態的產物一樣，僅在黑暗中相遇和茁壯，是缺乏榮光照耀的反常將他們外來者的狀態銘記為一種不知從何而來的觀點，如此觀點對於虛無的深刻論斷而言是矛盾的<sup>7</sup>。

神學與宗教歷史學家提醒我們，外來體從來不是豐富的存在，因而有各種的問題<sup>8</sup>。外來性意味著獸行。沙勒比與薩伯敘述軀體的幻想價值來自其功能性，亦即作為匱乏的記號表徵。沙勒比與薩伯是子體，子體的外來性需要去除歷史的附著。這樣的更新保護了史前與世界的緊密關係，由超級體的完整性所標記並藉此觀看，所謂的超級體也就是神靈體。沙勒比與薩伯因這種如夢似幻般的論述而改變<sup>9</sup>，其姓名與形體已經變化，將最初的暫存體降為客體。從異化深處挖掘出來的子體已經在外型損毀的過程中改寫。若以苦行主義為基礎，從沙勒比與薩伯黯淡軀體的識別中可窺見其外來性，與耀眼的主體不同，他們有渾厚的肉體，將實體包覆住，脫離事實<sup>10</sup>。少了光芒的軀體代表無法穿透的脆弱。共謀與合作可說是沙勒比與薩伯的典型特質。此類黯淡的軀體因為「並非完整的軀體」，因此更容易受到這些認定。黯淡軀體原始的組成容易引來失望與厭棄，地位不如神明耀眼的實體。人類與神靈充滿矛盾的對比同樣影響了沙勒比與薩伯的轉換與移動，干擾及操弄其外來體的生命力。人類軀體與苦行價值的關係是一種矛盾性的存在。宗教學者派翠西亞·考克斯·米勒（Patricia Cox Miller）曾寫道：黯淡的軀體因其特質，亦被豐足物質的耀眼或光芒所吸引而朝其方向移動。這種矛盾性具體呈現了苦行主義。將沙勒比與薩伯的行動視為苦行主義的要素，讓我們更貼近其疏離的隔閡，和這些人試圖放棄這個世界及不知何處看待這個世界的觀點。下節將討論兩人如何各自從其分立的主體參與歷史，協調「其特有的世界觀與完整性推論的抽象觀點」之落差<sup>11</sup>。

4 完整論述請見西爾弗曼《被邊緣化的男性主體意識》（1992）第7章。

5 同上註。

6 派翠西亞·考克斯·米勒（Patricia Cox Miller）〈想像實體：苦行主義的美學〉（*Dreaming the Body: An Aesthetics of Asceticism*），《苦行主義》（*Asceticism*），（紐約：牛津大學出版社，1998），頁281-300。

7 同上註。

8 米勒引述尚皮耶·威爾南（Jean-Pierre Vernant）談黯淡與耀眼的軀體，見米勒的文章，頁281-300。

9 米勒，頁281-300。

10 米勒在討論天主教教父聖國瑞·納祥（Gregory of Nazianzus）的苦行主義時提到，軀體阻礙了行動：「聖國瑞認為他所處的認識論困境主要原因是人類社會的物質性所造成。肉體厚重的覆蓋阻礙了神聖真理的完整揭露。他的目標是希望朝上面的生活前進，仍在人間時即拋棄人間。」但肉體仍經常在向上的路途中構成阻礙。頁285。

11 米勒問道，「這兩種感知操作的移動如何受到影響，尤其是若其中一方是另一方希望感知的對象？見米勒。頁283。

## 「自行進行自我訓練」沙勒比（1870-1935年）<sup>12</sup>

1923年，沙勒比在馬尼拉科學社團演講。演講主題為「菲律賓群島的語言教育」，演講內容以專題論文的形式發表，也是他未能在殖民政府取得行政官員職位之後，最後一次公開出版的文章<sup>13</sup>。他在演講中提到現代教育對提升國家文明程度的重要性，以及官方國家語言在普及教育中扮演的角色。文中概述菲律賓教育系統當前的情況、政策、問題與相關統計數據。文中，沙勒比幾乎是在刻意證明「美國式」教育的善行，對政府的教育制度進行批判性的觀察與建議。沙勒比文章發佈的時間剛好是一個轉捩點。菲律賓在1900年成立教育局，在全國各地推動英語教育，以英文作為官方語言。沙勒比質疑英語的主導性地位，認為教育當局對「外來領域的教育語言」有「新的利益關係」。他在1919和1920年造訪中國、美國、埃及、敘利亞和黎巴嫩時就有這樣的觀察，殷切懇求菲律賓這樣一個「缺少共同的語言與討論」的國家調整所使用的本國語言，加強團結意識。沙勒比在文末以十點宣言總結，拒絕以英語作為「共同的國家語言」，並認為當地的方言是「唯一適合作為國家教育與民主自治的媒介」<sup>14</sup>。

沙勒比的名字在歷史上一直與雙語教育緊密連結。他的倡議從當時被視為走在時代前端，現在仍是國家政策討論的一環，卻是美國計畫失敗的過程中一個極端的提議<sup>15</sup>。雖然沙勒比提出的「共同的語言與討論」概念一直被簡化為僅是強調雙語主義，但這概念卻阻斷了美國人所設計的教育制度的發展與效益，而此教育制度也就是為了菲律賓發展自治能力之「社會工程」基礎的方法提供者。學校內部的集會有機會以言語溝通的方式營造平等卻沒有做到，導致教育制度以雜亂無章的方式，過度投入於執行一個標榜「為公民責任也為文明社會的日常活動」，定位模糊不清的政策<sup>16</sup>。沙勒比明白，這個任務尚未完成。美國殖民政府在政策與實際作為上的不一致，及使後來有了獎學金制度，但因整體機制不夠完善，菲律賓並沒有因此而產生公民意識或具有生產力的勞動。」<sup>17</sup>沙勒比離開公職後超過十年才以一般國民的身份撰寫此文，哀悼英文的效力不足。他提到，「二十五年密集的英語教育並沒有造成太大的變化。」接著又對政府當前以英語為營造民主化理想的政策提出堅定的反對立場。這些批評的言論不代表沙勒比贊成菲律賓這個他選擇移居的國家完全取消使用英語。反之，沙勒比認為英語和菲律賓人並沒有血緣關係，因此他堅定支持降低英語的地位。他在〈本國語言的適應性〉(Adaptability of the Vernacular)一文中提到，當地馬來人所使用的口說語言的彼此關係，有助於營造一種共同的「方言」。沙勒比在操作特定的知識體制時，經常使用和誤用「方言」一詞。1926年，《美國東方社會期刊》(Journal of the American

12 複習傅柯對苦行主義有關的訓練部署，見理查·法蘭達西斯 (Richard Valantasis)，〈苦行主義的社會功能理論〉(A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism)，《苦行主義》(Asceticism)，(紐約：牛津大學出版社，1998)，頁544-552。

13 學者提姆席·馬爾 (Timothy Marr) 對沙勒比的生平作了精彩的歷史論述。馬爾提到，儘管沙勒比才能出眾，卻未曾在民島真正擔任過公職。他也引述沙勒比寫給伍德的信，談到沙勒比希望在摩洛哥扮演更重要的角色。見馬爾〈在美國菲律賓帝國流離的智識：沙勒比醫師的跨國生涯〉(Diasporic Intelligences in the American Philippine Empire: The Transnational Career of Dr. Najeeb Mitry Saleeby)，《中東北非遷徙研究期刊》(Mashriq & Mahjar) 第2卷第1期，(2014)，頁78-106。

14 沙勒比，〈菲律賓群島的教育語言〉(The Language of Education of the Philippine Islands)，(馬尼拉，1924)。

15 葛蘭·安東尼·梅 (Glenn Anthony May)，〈菲律賓的社會工程：美國殖民政策的目標與執行，1900至1913年〉(Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims and Execution of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913)，《菲律賓研究：歷史與民族學觀點》(Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints)，第24卷第2期，(1976)，頁135-183。

16 同上註，頁182-183。

17 同上註，頁182-183。

*Oriental Society*)<sup>18</sup> 刊載了一篇沙勒比的《教育的語言》書評，讚揚沙勒比站在時代尖端的先進立場，以及他對問題與解決方式間的典範關係不盡完整的遠見。該篇書評的作者認為，沙勒比的成就僅是「證明他的主要論點。」<sup>19</sup> 同時，沙勒比對「通用語言」的忽略也被提出來討論。這幾點批評在該篇書評最後逐漸明朗，並批判「菲律賓人因急於尋求對本國語言的指示而追求理想的路徑。」這樣的評論明顯彌補了沙勒比理想典範的謹慎發展，也暗示了菲律賓的原始性與主體性仍須努力提升。這樣的批判性也將沙勒比放置在脫離貧窮的想像和努力的場域裡。

同時代學術界對沙勒比的批判，降低了他身為美國公民在殖民地表現出的可靠性與可重複性<sup>20</sup>。他對美國的愛國之心影響了他離開敘利亞之後承接的政治合約。這樣的矛盾凸顯沙勒比對完整性的追求，強調他的不足與無能。美國當局對沙勒比這種雙面夥伴有適當的分類方式：從最受信賴的中間人與民答那峨島軍事統治的結盟夥伴轉為「令人懷疑的亞洲人」<sup>21</sup>。摩洛哥省第一任長李奧那多·伍德 (Leonard Wood) 請沙勒比加入省政府的執行委員會，管理新成立的省分。知名學者提姆席·馬爾 (Timothy Marr) 指出，沙勒比掌管民答那峨島的能力來自於他對阿拉伯和伊斯蘭文化的熟悉，也是建立美國人立足民答那峨島的信心與能力之重要來源<sup>22</sup>。沙勒比在 1907 年之前曾在摩洛哥政府擔任重要官職，與民答那峨島關係深厚也相當瞭解。他曾任非基督徒部落局的局長助理，專門處理摩洛哥事務，同時擔任摩洛哥省平民督學。他曾經花了六個月的時間深入研究島上和鄰近蘇祿地區的人種與民族，蒐集寶貴的文獻<sup>23</sup>。1907 年離開民島前，這位被稱為「流離失所的入侵者」<sup>24</sup> 成為摩洛哥研究的終極知識份子，他對摩洛哥的實際瞭解與他的名聲，驗證他對摩洛哥投入的心力，也在眾人期盼中將這份資本投入教育與轉譯，將民主的基礎落實在新的疆土上。沙勒比反對暴力，認同摩洛哥人。他曾說，「自然的法則很明確，人為所有人類服務，不論他的膚色是白還是黑。」<sup>25</sup> 一身「黝黑膚色又有口音」的沙勒比令人意外的並沒有更改他的過去，也沒有成功的擁抱或配合新的美國身份。對他的同僚來說，沙勒比的歸化並不成功，出現「從裡到外徹徹底底是個亞洲人」的症狀<sup>26</sup>。沙勒比的認同政治學被排除，找到的一個必然的結果與意義。他對摩洛哥人的同情為他贏得支持者及「摩洛哥總統」的美譽。儘管他在民答那峨島的「無作為」引發私下議論，但同時他也看到眼前必須解決的基礎架構問題。他協助成立了中學校進行師資培育，訓練當地人在省立學校擔任助理教師。後來移民馬尼拉前曾在 1905 年發表幾篇文章，包含〈摩洛哥省公立學校的民答那峨讀者〉 (*Magindanaw reader, for the Public Schools of the Moro Province*)、〈摩洛哥歷史研究〉 (*Studies in Moro History*)、〈法律與宗教〉 (*Law and Religion*) 和〈摩洛哥省公立學校的蘇祿讀者〉 (*Sulu Reader for the Public Schools of the Moro Province*)。儘管美國官方並不認可他的行為，沙勒比仍在菲律賓教育學院舉辦的演講中，以摩洛哥人的代言人出席。這樣公開的認可，確認沙勒比非美式作風的生平與理想，也堅定

18 法蘭克·布雷克 (Frank R. Blake)，〈無題訪談〉 (Untitled Review)，《美國東方學會期刊》 (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*)，第 46 期，(1926)，頁 61-71。 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/593773>

19 同上註，頁 67。

20 沙勒比直到 1920 年才取得公民身份。

21 馬爾〈在美國菲律賓帝國流離的智識〉，頁 87。

22 同上註，頁 87。

23 1908 年在馬尼拉的菲律賓博物館殖民時代展場展出。

24 馬爾引述安德魯·亞桑 (Andrew Arsan)：「入侵者能夠流散『同一時間入駐全球多處』的能力，讓來自亞洲另一端的沙勒比在菲律賓也能有家的感覺，從當地性和世界性的角度看待他提供的專業服務。」頁 83。

25 沙勒比，〈摩洛哥問題：菲律賓群島摩洛哥政府的問題解決方案與歷史的學術討論〉，(馬尼拉，1913)。

26 馬爾，〈在美國菲律賓帝國流離的智識〉，頁 90。

承認了他的外來性與本土化的增強。

儘管如此，沙勒比並沒有意識到，當時他已經具備另一種文化能力，融入後殖民時代混亂的秩序中。他經常參與民答那峨島的工作坊，證明他在此處所受的訓練和再教育。這對他的自我和社會移動不利。他以非白人合作夥伴的身份扮演中間人，配合調整他的工作和態度，在一個奇特的系統中重建與解構光榮的角色。他的表現顯現了他的自我引導、紀律、內在思維和正義感。沙勒比的韌性也進一步展現在田野工作上，以及擔任民島公職後的學術研究。在沙勒比轉換的過程中有一個難熬的時刻，那就是他在 1903 年挑戰美國政府的運作，質疑著名的貝茨條約 (Bates Treaty) 的翻譯有所欺瞞。「他提了長達十五頁的研究報告給省長伍德，質疑蘇祿蘇丹的權力和權威。」<sup>27</sup> 美國政府選擇支持德國譯者，駁回沙勒比的解讀。在沙勒比擔任殖民政府中間人的早期訓練過程中，這次的事件凸顯了外在環境對他忠誠度的質疑，切斷了他與美國政府的緊密關係，嚴格訓練的中斷也套用在所有想像中的家人關係上。沙勒比以自身的熱情撰寫評論與新作，包括《蘇祿的歷史》(The History of Sulu, 1908 年)、《蘇祿的興起與興盛》(Rise and Prosperity of Sulu, 1908 年)、《馬來菲律賓人的起源》(Origin of the Malayan Filipinos, 1912 年) 及《摩洛問題：菲律賓群島摩洛政府的問題解決方案與歷史的學術討論》(The Moro Problem: An Academic Discussion of the History and Solution of the Problem of the Government of the Moros of the Philippine Islands, 1913 年) 等。他的責任感與所受的訓練促成他堅定的意志。

這些技巧為他日後的工作預作準備。他曾坦承，重新訓練自己「成為一個不一樣的人，練習生活在不一樣的文化裡，訓練自己用不同的方式與他人建立關係，在心理上有過著不同生活方式的動力。」<sup>28</sup> 他重新調整自己的想法，重新想像這個世界。這樣的練習就像稜鏡，凸顯訓練結果的發散性與韌性。「介於中間遊走」的身份意識和「不確定性」平撫了他<sup>29</sup>，不再以模擬美國殖民者為志。他重新訓練自我反映了一個意識成形的過程，這個主體化的過程阻擋了去殖民與後殖民有計畫的自然增長。沙勒比以苦行般的精神，並沒有因此完全脫離暴力之地。儘管他的作法很溫和，但他這種苦行的方式，即是哲學家傅柯所說的「自我的實踐」，形成沙勒比的道德主體。沙勒比以文化的苦行概述他道德行為的「特定文化鋪陳的基本運作基礎。」<sup>30</sup> 對一個被打敗的子體來說，轉變來自於意義的功能性，新的象徵性符號與社會秩序的成形從溝通開始。或許沙勒比在 1923 年的文章中提到的共同討論提供了另一種共同的政治性，建構對立面的道德性，削弱其對立性卻又不至於造成崩解，營造正反矛盾並存的討論<sup>31</sup>。

### 盡可能的瞭解自己：馬米托·薩伯 (1921-1992)

薩伯在畢業論文〈文化接觸形勢中的邊緣領導力〉(Marginal Leadership in Culture-Contact Situation, 1957 年) 的序言中請讀者尋找他的新身份。他以「轉換歸化」和「描繪詮釋」揭露自己外來者的身份。書寫自己這樣的轉變確實有一點驕傲，薩伯對邊緣領導階層的書寫論述是民答那峨島後殖民論述中的重要論點之一。他以「追隨者」描述自己的角色，遠離自己身為一般國民的核心角色，更接近他「粗鄙的出身」。他承認，他的「描繪」其實是「不足」的，在一般和特殊學術研究上「儘管有先天性的缺陷」，

27 此事完整詳述見馬爾，〈在美國菲律賓帝國流離的智識〉，頁 86。

28 法蘭達西斯，〈苦行主義的社會功能理論〉，頁 548。

29 莎拉·瓜爾提爾瑞 (Sarah Gualtieri)，見〈在美國菲律賓帝國流離的智識〉，頁 91。

30 法蘭達西斯，〈苦行主義的社會功能理論〉，頁 546。

31 同上註。

卻仍具備「先驅性」的化合能力。此刻他正在積極的放棄領袖地位。薩伯的虛榮心讓他無法取得權勢，但同時也吸引我們被同樣的權勢光芒所吸引。薩柏放棄原先的自己，成為閱讀可滲入的缺口，於此，他不再是被書寫的角色，逐漸成為一位敘述者。〈站點〉(station) 說明了他從描繪者轉換為敘述者的過程，是通過社會性的一段過程，於此，創造與終結如風般的吹動。

簡單的說，這就是我的人生故事。這段簡單的自我介紹，不涉及我的自尊心。我只是想呈現事實給「實驗室」裡的社會科學，說明我的社會身份變化，以及在當前社會變遷中扮演謙卑的領導者角色。我目前人生中的「站點」從我在摩洛哥偏遠鄉村出生到現在，經過逐步的轉變，東方和西方文化交合。」<sup>32</sup>

薩伯重寫他自己的同時，也消除了自傳中可表達的表意脈動。他耗費大量的時間與文字撰寫長達109頁的自傳，作為他稱之為「文件」的論文中最重要的一部份，否定了自己的世界。這份論文的附錄比內文和研究分析還長，他的學術文章貶低了他之前的傳記，亦即他的古典世界，將世界拉到前端，「這是我人生的故事。」薩伯打造自己，只為了從外面的角度觀看世界。因多重的薩伯形象而發生了對現行語言失去信心的行為，他的聲音被要求要「合而為一」。他相信獨白式的表象足夠奇特，能夠更敏銳的傳遞新的經驗。薩伯在這份論文「文件」的第一部份題寫了自己。

自傳的部分將筆者描繪成他內在兩個不同角色的扮演。內文不以對話的形式呈現。第一個扮演的角色是菲律賓「當地消息的提供者」（事實上也是），將平鋪直敘的事實交給另一個人，也是由他自己扮演的「訪問者」的角色。筆者也在這篇論文中另外扮演社會「分析師」的角色。這是一種奇特的「獨白」，一種結合「資訊提供者＋人類學家＋社會學家」的多重角色扮演。「認識自己」有種聖經的感覺。如果個人與社會沒有先認識自己，科學家怎麼會知道呢？身為社會學的學生，筆者回顧自我與自己所處的社會，希望對於非他出生成長地的美國社會至少有一些基本的認識<sup>33</sup>。

薩伯黯淡的軀體確認了他所承載的痛苦和他身為敘述者同時兼具的補償性力量。然而，他也承認，他的「社會形體轉變」<sup>34</sup>位於「兩個世界」的敵對環境中，顯示他懸浮在愉悅與痛苦間，宛如已死。他不斷的在其論述中以模擬的狀態重新整合自己，過程彷彿在用意象符號呈現他的轉變，說明他如何詮釋這個世界的未知性，而非詳述他對這個世界的抽離。薩伯在列舉自己即將研究的角色時，引發「特異獨白」的必要性。在薩伯的角色扮演中，除了原先扮演的敘述者角色外，他的對話塑造了道德的成形，將自己重塑為「個人指導」和「調查者」，與他原本擔任「作家」的角色不同。薩伯曾在不同的時候承認，他無法將自己的學術研究提升到更高層次的科學理解，受到周遭嚴重的限制。這個意思是說，他僅能在克服否定的心理階段時，呈現事情的樣貌。他痛苦的形體轉變是「教育性與報應性的懲罰」<sup>35</sup>。薩伯的軀體不僅黯淡，還構成了干擾。

薩伯的變化在社會環境中明顯可見。其變化的特質具有可替代性，抹除了社會性的記憶。他和沙勒

32 見薩伯，〈文化接觸形勢中的邊緣領導力〉，堪薩斯：未發表的畢業論文，1957年。

33 同上註。

34 同上註。薩伯自創詞語。

35 伊迪絲·懷斯喬格羅德 (Edith Wyschogrod) 〈伊底帕斯的哀嘆與哀綠綺思的哭喊：從苦行主義到現代倫理學〉 (The Howl of Oedipus, the Cry of Heloise: From Asceticism to Postmodern Ethics)，《苦行主義》(Asceticism)，(紐約：牛津大學出版社，1998)，頁16-30。

比一樣，社會環境場景以報復性的正義懲罰他們的存在。

有一天在咖啡店裡，一位信仰基督教的中尉看到我收藏的日本侵略菲律賓的畫冊。有人去日軍廢棄的軍哨劫掠，我從劫掠者手中買下。那位中尉要求要看我的畫冊，看了一會兒之後問我：「你為什麼有這些畫？你支持日本人嗎？」<sup>36</sup>

社會秩序令薩伯失望，這次的衝突也讓他重新找回自己的二元性，或套句他自己的話「雙重忠誠」。在他的環境裡，他是個外來者。身為持有日本入侵圖像的外來者，他的外來性將他回歸異國特質，而非他先前擔任的「『酋長』，享有族人間的傳統領袖地位，受過教育的『拉瑙』族人。」他的自我從「憤怒與驕傲混雜的情緒」再次膨脹，只為了「從游擊隊手中搶回畫冊」。其他菲律賓族人不能理解他的痛苦，侵入他具體的存在，進入道德的領域，「在行動之前阻擋或限制了主動的自我，連思考也不允許」<sup>37</sup>。薩伯黯淡的軀體因此以承受痛苦做為工具，以轉換作為目標，維持肉體的生命力，在薩伯投入或將他的愛集中於這個「在敵軍入侵時枯燥單調的城鎮」，同樣的渴望重新浮現<sup>38</sup>。他多次拒絕加入游擊隊擔任官員的邀請。他自認為是正確的事情，這卻造就了他的痛苦，而被指稱為與日本人共謀合作「在游擊隊與非游擊隊激烈對立之時，激起他的敏感思維。」這種對他者暴露身份的時刻，證明黯淡軀體參與道德思考的領域與公平正義的討論，不受其脆弱程度影響。薩伯有「雙重忠誠」，而身為外來者的他同時也是法律實體。在他的自我受到恆久打擊的同時，他所承擔的多種角色也象徵性的持續迫使他面對他者。當子體與他者相見時，也為自己協調和準備一個新的社會空間，看見並安置他者於比自己更高的位置<sup>39</sup>。薩伯將這份道德工作解讀為黯淡軀體的寬容，不因軀體逃離原本備受否定的自身而受影響。

## 選擇病體

殖民體前綴語的成形預先說明了其分散性。沙勒比和薩伯選擇了一個結合任性乖張與弊病的軀體，符合他們落入一個不變的去殖民化與後殖民化的未來，結果獲得在民答那峨島實踐前述方法的機會：兩人均將自身肉體的存在化為感性與感受性之地去進行幻想。這兩人之間具有單一性與相同性，自主配對融合痛楚與思考在這片土地上，凸顯美學上的表達。子體是主動的，屬於特定場域，在短暫逃離與冥想的承諾與評論精神的行使中呈現其被動性。他們會回來，在徒勞與孤獨中迫切的盼望中過了許久才回歸。此類文字經常在沙勒比與薩伯的論述中出現。薩伯人坐在美國堪薩斯州的書桌前，正在總結其著作《邊緣領導力》（Marginal Leadership）的論述，在自述審思的過程中「回到」沙勒比的論點，認為「問題」仍然存在。薩伯引述沙勒比 19313 年的演講。沙勒比演講時提到「摩洛問題」，成為無助的薩伯情感上的間歇，回歸沙勒比口中「無助」的摩洛性狀態的開端。這一刻設想了昏暗的軀體將無法康復。沙勒比與薩伯的道德形成與訓練，說明一個經過重新想像的世界可能在復興的過程中傷害或殺死所有良好的代理機構。軀體的復原成為歷史上另一種閹割。沙勒比與薩伯個人所承受的窘困證明了弊病不僅是最可怕

36 薩伯，〈文化接觸形勢中的邊緣領導力〉，堪薩斯：未發表的畢業論文，1957 年。

37 懷斯喬格羅德〈伊底帕斯的哀嘆〉，頁 27。

38 薩伯，〈邊緣領導力〉。

39 懷斯喬格羅德〈伊底帕斯的哀嘆與哀綠綺思的哭喊〉，頁 16-30。



的事情，也強化了匱乏的樂趣。兩個邊緣人享受自己「被排除在外」<sup>40</sup> 的感覺，在主流傳說的惡性循環中被視為黑暗惡魔的雙重化身<sup>41</sup>。沙勒比與薩伯在文字上的交流雙雙證明了殖民體在受虐的過往中自發性的存在，在無法預測的未來中頌揚異質的自我。對這兩人來說，病體是幾近無限延伸的可能性，也是打擊所有主體性的外來異質的總和。



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40 「被排除在外」相對於被涵蓋在內的詳細討論請見西爾弗曼《被邊緣化的男性主體意識》。

41 菲律賓摩洛族人的殖民具體化與抽象化問題請參考沙勒比的《摩洛族問題》。

## Men Who Got Sick of Men

Renan Laru-an

The island of Mindanao, south of the Philippines, reveals itself as a promise of capture and development in the imagination of colonialist, nationalist, and secessionist desires.

As a frontier: Mindanao and its neighbouring archipelago of Sulu were organised as the Moro Province in 1903 governed through politico-military administration of the US. As an extension to the nation-state: The island was integrated into the national body politic as a “problematic” region whose potential could be fully maximised through the establishment of the Mindanao Development Authority in 1961, a government corporation patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority.<sup>1</sup> The core of these two political infrastructures lies in the conception and resolution of Mindanao as a problem—interchangeably and consistently termed as “The Mindanao Problem” or “The Moro Problem”.

Along these bureaucratic lines sustaining Mindanao as a landscape of conflicts and a horizon of progress, two figures emerged as “local agents” who remediated the aspirations, plans, and policies of governing institutions in Mindanao: the Syrian-Lebanese physician and administrator Najeeb Saleeby (1870-1935) and the Maranao scholar, sociologist and curator Mamtua Saber (1921-1992). What seems to be an estrangement initiated by two “marginal men” is distilled in periods associated with their “complicity” and “collaboration” when the development of postcolonial thoughts and actions by other men had operated contrasting regimes: the naturalized US citizen Saleeby arrived in Maguindanao in 1901 as an “Arab” invaluable asset of the American military occupation who collaborated on teaching “self-government” in the Philippines; and the Marawi-born Saber, member of a royal clan in Lanao Province, who actively contributed to the civic and cultural development of post-war Mindanao, facilitating the collective determination of non-metropolitan Moros<sup>2</sup> with the growing desire of the Philippine nation-state for integration. Importing them from particular cultural and historical contexts regain the strength of their materiality; this time, feeding it back into a loop of analyses in a more supple appearance.

The essay *Men Who Got Sick of Men* introduces Saleeby and Saber as interruptions to the peripheral affairs of a modernizing nation-state, from its several transitions as a former colony to its role as an agent in internal colonisation. *Men Who Got Sick of Men* accesses these individuals through their practice, which had been earmarked but were never sustained to eventually become contemporary references. By referencing Saleeby and Saber, I uphold their presence in previous texts—of which they belong to as “background knowledge,” to be centrally adequate in shifting the chains of theoretical progression within the metastatic triangulation of “problem”, “collaboration”, and “critique” in the formation of political subjectivities. Here, I ‘observe’ Saleeby and Saber as relational bodies that either intensify, falsify or supply configurations of lack and alterity.

As Saleeby and Saber’s institutional biographies and allegiance render themselves suspect to the general order of de- and postcolonial future; it is helpful then if Saleeby and Saber were presented as “deferred actions.”<sup>3</sup> Sidestepping the analytical conjecture of historiography, the remission of their proposals on commonality and contact could carry some trace of perversity in a new narrative. It relieves their practices from the verification

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1 The Mindanao Development Authority was an outcome of the early regional planning efforts to develop the Philippine countryside. President Carlos P. Garcia realized the project to develop the entire island of Mindanao including Sulu and Palawan.

2 Later in the history of Mindanao, the label “Moros” had been reclaimed with emancipatory connotation. The term “Muslim Filipinos” was also utilized to integrate the minority population of Muslims in the South in the national discourse of citizenship.

3 Following Kaja Silverman’s location of identities to be in a primal scenography, developing in stages of subjectivity. See Chapter 5 in Silverman (1992) *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*.

for a subversive potential. The purpose is to turn them aside from the “truthful” and “rightful” re-reading of Saleeby’s text on bilingualism and/or the common vernacular in American education system in the Philippines (1924) and in Saber’s theory of the marginal leader as mediating structure of ethno-religious differences (1957) . This unexpected attitude lends their actions more erotic, highlighting the performed volition of marginality sliding into emergent deviations across the constitutions of problem, collaboration, and critique in a site perpetually inaugurated with sickness, like Mindanao.

## Two Foreign Bodies

Immediately, I call Saleeby and Saber foreigners. In preserving their “foreign-ness,” as if it is foundational, disallows the foreclosure that identities construct in a mise-en-abyme of Mindanao. They are figurations reiterated consciously as refractions of a social order. As all refractions become local—or localised—as they change from one medium to another. These local refractions possess a quality of unrepeatability offering astonishing intervals. Technically, they were never inside history.<sup>4</sup> Exhumed to be the text, their irreverent display here is a counterintuitive decorporealization of bodies in Mindanao’s prehistorical data.

I learn from Silverman that it is “never possible to be ‘directly’ inside history.”<sup>5</sup> I am taking this further, and consider the interplay of accounts of/about two men as fantasies. After the penetration of other men, fantasizing two men in Mindanao—two other men living on the island who lived, thought, and imagined the symbolic order—is a perverse narrative that weakens the seal on facticity and control on the fictive of the dominant post- and decolonial inscription. A secret request for Saleeby and Saber to be displaced out of the guts of history.

In this text, the communion of Saleeby and Saber forms an arch that exhibits a ‘touch’ with each other. An awkward touch that elects their joint posture. They have never met before and have finally met in this essay. Against the natural principle, this perversion executes two phenomena: First, Saber and Saleeby become bodies that can be read and can be reimaged. Second, these narrative bodies, disfigured and muted, are incorporated in the “scenic” form of a political world eloquently denied or internalized by dominant engineers of subjectivity.<sup>6</sup> The corporate body is ultimately foreign. It is acquired through an embrace of two men who consumed physical and symbolic margins. Like most unnatural acts, Saleeby and Saber’s meeting only happens and flourishes in darkness. Without illumination, perversion enshrines their foreign status as a perspective from nowhere, the paradoxical act of profound inference for being nothing.<sup>7</sup>

Historians of theology and religion remind us that foreign bodies are problematic because they are never a body of plenitude.<sup>8</sup> This foreign-ness means bestiality. The fantasmatical value of these men’s narrative flesh originates from their function as signifiers of lack. Saleeby and Saber are sub-bodies. Foreign-ness as sub-bodies requires the shedding off of historical attachments; such renewal indemnifies prehistorical affinities to the world. Marked by and seen through the completeness of the super body, the body of the gods, so to speak; Saleeby and Saber are transfigured through this oneiric discourse.<sup>9</sup> Their names and bodies are now altered, denouncing their initial registers as subjects. Excavated from the depths of alienation, sub-bodies are

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4 For full discussion, see Chapter 7 in Silverman (1992) *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*.

5 Ibid.

6 For full discussion of the narrative bodies, see Patricia Cox Miller, “Dreaming the Body: An Aesthetics of Asceticism” in *Asceticism* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1998), 281-300.

7 Ibid.

8 Cox Miller citing Jean-Pierre Vernant’s essay on dim and dazzling bodies. See Cox Miller, 281-300.

9 See Cox Miller, 281-300.

always already rewritten in terms of disfiguration. Based on asceticism, Saleeby and Saber's foreign-ness can be gleaned from their identities as dim bodies. Unlike dazzling corpora, they are made of thick flesh, enveloping them to be bodies without access to the truth.<sup>10</sup> Human bodies without radiance signal impenetrable fragility. Complicity and collaboration are easily fortified as the defining characteristics of Saleeby and Saber. These dim bodies are more susceptible to these identifications because they are "not fully a body." Perishable, the originary constitution of dim bodies solicit despair and disgust, inferior to the illuminating bodies of gods. This same problematic dichotomy of the human and divine body attunes the transformation and movement of Saleeby and Saber's desires in a disruptive manipulation of their foreign bodies for vitality. The relationship of ascetic values to the human body insists a paradoxical process: Patricia Cox Miller writes that a dim body moves towards the flash of its corporeal plenitude; it is a body that marks its dimness or particularity and the other its dazzle or grandeur. The paradoxical materializes asceticism. Treating Saleeby and Saber's acts as formative asceticism brings us closer to their estrangement and assembly as attempts to abandon the horizon and to see the world from nowhere. In the next sections, I will contract their participation in history in separate cells of roaming subjectivities, negotiating gaps "between the particularizing view from the horizon and the abstracting view of the inference to wholeness."<sup>11</sup>

### **'Training of oneself by oneself': Najeeb Saleeby (1870-1935)**<sup>12</sup>

In 1923, Najeeb Saleeby delivered a lecture titled *The Language of Education of the Philippine Islands* at the Manila Science Club. Later published as a monograph, Saleeby's last known publication after his failure to secure an executive position in the colonial government,<sup>13</sup> underscores the importance of modern education in civilizing a nation and the role of a national language in educating the public. The text presents an overview of conditions, policies, problems, and statistics of the education system in the Philippines. In a tone that almost deliberately falsifies the benevolence of 'American' education, Saleeby's critical observations and proposals in the administration of education in the islands comes as a turning point since the establishment of the Bureau of Education in 1900 and its implementation of English as the medium of public instruction across the archipelago. Challenging the dominance of English, Saleeby refers to the "new interests" of educators in "the question of the language of education in foreign fields," which he had noticed in his visits in China, the United States, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon in 1919 and 1920. The scholar's impassioned plea argues that the adaptability of the vernacular generates unity in a country "without a common vernacular and conference." In a ten-point manifesto concluding the text, Saleeby refuses the vision of English language to become the "common national language"

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10 In her discussion of the ascetic Gregory of Nazianzus, Cox Miller noted that the body itself is the obstacle in mobility: "Gregory attributed the epistemological dilemma in which he found himself in large part to the sheer physicality of the human condition. The thick covering of the flesh is an obstacle to the full disclosure of divine truth.<sup>30</sup> His goal was to press toward the life above, "deserting the earth while we are still upon the earth"; but the body formed a constant roadblock on that upward path." 285

11 Cox Miller asks, "How is the movement between these two perceptual operations effected, particularly when one is the object that one wishes to perceive?" See Cox Miller, 283.

12 Rehearsing Foucault's deployment of training in relation to asceticism. Cited in Richard Valantasis, "A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism" in *Asceticism* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1998), 544-552

13 In an impressive historiography of Saleeby's life, scholar Timothy Marr cited that despite Saleeby's competence, he never held an authentic executive function while in Mindanao. He also quoted Saleeby's letter addressed to Leonard Wood about the former's expectation to take a larger role in the Moro Province. See Timothy Marr, "Diasporic Intelligences in the American Philippine Empire: The Transnational Career of Dr. Najeeb Mitry Saleeby," *Mashriq & Mahjar* 2, no. 1 (2014) : 78-106.

and positions the vernacular as “the only fit medium for [education] and a democratic self-governing state.”<sup>14</sup>

Throughout history, Saleeby's name has been associated with bilingual education. His advocacy—deemed progressive at that time and up to this day, retained in national debates—was a radical proposal in the failing procedure of the American project.<sup>15</sup> While consistently reduced to bilingualism, Saleeby's notion of “a common vernacular and conference” interdicts the development and effects of education designed by the Americans “as the fundamental purveyor of social engineering” in developing self-governance among Filipinos. The promise of assembly at the level of schools, in which chances of equivalence take precedence in speech and communication, derails an educational system obsessed yet disorganized in implementing a policy ambiguously crafted “for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary activities of a civilized community.”<sup>16</sup> Saleeby knew that this mission was not fulfilled. Clarified by latter scholarship, the American colonial government's dissonance between their policy and practice, aided by flimsy institutional mandate, did not usher Filipinos to citizenship or productive labor.<sup>17</sup> Saleeby, who wrote the text as a private citizen more than a decade since his last administrative position, lamented the inefficacy of English's role: “Twenty-five years of intensive English education have produced no radical change.” He, then, issued an unflinching stance against the prevailing policy instituting English to be the most fostering linguistic watershed for democratic ideals. All of these critical remarks did not culminate in Saleeby's endorsement for the total abolition of English in his adopted country. Rather, Saleeby rallied for the non-negotiable demotion of a language that serves no consanguinity with the Filipinos. Under the heading *Adaptability of the Vernacular*, he locates the kinship of spoken languages of the regional Malayan group to be a productive option for nurturing a shared ‘dialect’, a term frequently employed and mis-used by Saleeby as he operated during a specific intellectual regime. In a review of *The Language of Education...* that came out of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*<sup>18</sup> in 1926, Saleeby had been doubly anointed with his progressive position and his incomplete foresight in the paradigmatic relations of problem and solution. What Saleeby achieved, according to the reviewer, was simply “prov[ing] his main contentions.”<sup>19</sup> His silence regarding the idea of a lingua franca was singled out. These few critical notes crystallized towards the end of the review in a tempting provocation “ (...) that the Filipinos, in their agitation for instruction in the vernacular, will not stop short of the ideal course...” This evaluation conspicuously reimburses the discreet development of Saleeby's ideals in a track that suggests primordially, a wide arena of subjectivity that frames Filipinos still needing practice for competence. His trace of criticality puts him back in the same gymnasium that tones up the imagination of a race out of poverty.

Anticipating the coeval determination of Saleeby's legible criticality in academic setting diminishes the reliability and repeatability of his performance as the American citizen in a colony.<sup>20</sup> Wounding his conduct of American patriotism compromises the inherited political contract he had assumed ever since he left Syria. The paradox of such premise reunites Saleeby with his longing for completeness as it enhances his disabling passage of being deficient. American authorities had a felicitous taxonomy to their two-faced comrade: Their perception of Saleeby swerved from the most trusted intermediary and ally of military rule in Mindanao to

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14 See Najeeb Mitry Saleeby, *The Language of Education of the Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1924).

15 See Glenn Anthony May “Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims and Execution of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 24, no. 2 (1976) : 135-183.

16 Ibid, 182-183.

17 Ibid.

18 For the entire review, see Frank R. Blake “Untitled Review,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 46 (1926) : 61-71. Accessible in <https://www.jstor.org/stable/593773>

19 Ibid., 67.

20 Saleeby was only granted citizenship in 1920.

a “suspect Asiatic.”<sup>21</sup> Leonard Wood, the first governor of the Moro Province, signed up Saleeby to be his fellow member of the executive committee governing the newly instituted province. Noted by scholar Timothy Marr, Saleeby achieved his expertise in Mindanao through the latter’s socialization with Arabic and Islam. This access evolves as an indispensable resource for the Americans in gaining a foothold and confidence to occupy Mindanao.<sup>22</sup> Until 1907, Saleeby had taken key positions in the government of Moros, which pivoted his influence that navigated knowledges of and deepened relationships to Mindanao: He was appointed as Assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, specializing on Moro Affairs, concurrent with his designation as the civilian Superintendent of Schools of the Moro Province. For six months, he intensively conducted field work in the island and neighboring Sulu as part of his assumed role as ethnographer, collecting valuable documents.<sup>23</sup> Before he left Mindanao in 1907, the “diasporic interloper”<sup>24</sup> Saleeby became the undisputed intellectual of Moro studies. His actual knowledge and reputation secures a legibility of his commitment. Hopeful, this capital was invested to education and translation, mobilizing these democratic fundamentals in a new territory. Saleeby intimated against aggression, and recognized his sameness with the Moros: “The laws of nature are not ambiguous, and man is after all man, whether his skin be white or brown.”<sup>25</sup> The “dark-skinned with an accent” Saleeby, surprisingly, had neither fully altered his heritage nor successfully customized his envelopment of the American body. For his colleagues, it was a botched naturalization, manifesting symptoms of being an “Asiatic through and through.”<sup>26</sup> The dispensation of Saleeby’s identitarian politics finds a corollary venture and meaning. His sympathy towards the Moros had created a constituency, bestowing him a credential as “President of the Moros”. Contrary to backroom conversations surrounding his “little action” in Mindanao, Saleeby also recognized the infrastructural dimension of problems at hand. He helped set up a secondary school to prepare the natives as assistant teachers in provincial schools. Prior to his final migration to Manila, several publications authored by Saleeby circulated in 1905: *Magindanaw reader, for the Public Schools of the Moro Province (Nini surat punanu kapangaji)* ; *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*; and *Sulu Reader for the Public Schools of the Moro Province*. Despite the official invalidation of American administrators, his voice was legitimized as a speaker of the Moros in a lecture organized by the Philippine Normal School. This public address elevates the uncompromising foreign-ness and indigenizing augmentation of Saleeby’s un-American *bios* and *telos*.

Saleeby, however, did not recognize that he had already possessed a different cultural power at the moment he immersed in a messy (post-) colonial order. His prolific participation in Mindanao is a workshop of embodiment characterised by a timeline of training and retraining. Hostile to his ego and social mobility, he patterned his tasks and attitude anterior to his limited agency as a non-white ally; in this sense, he permitted himself to reconstruct and deconstruct resplendent roles in a peculiar system. His performance is an exercise of self-instruction, a course to rigor, internal exchange and righteousness. Saleeby’s tenacity was further practiced in his field work, and in his scholarly custodianship after his civil service in Mindanao. One tantalising moment disappointed the discipline of Saleeby’s transformation when he challenged the American operations: In 1903, he brought formal charges to the translator of the famous Bates Treaty for deception after “[he] delivered a fifteen-page research

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21 See Marr, *Diasporic Intelligences*, 87.

22 Ibid.

23 These were later exhibited in a massive colonial enterprise at the Philippine Museum in Manila in 1908.

24 Marr citing Andrew Arsan: “the diasporic capacity of the interloper ‘to live in several points of the globe at once’ and helped Saleeby to feel at home in the Philippines on the other side of Asia from his native land and to view his professional services there on both local and worldly scales.” 83

25 See Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The Moro Problem: An Academic Discussion of the History and Solution of the Problem of the Government of Moros in the Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1913) .

26 See Marr, *Diasporic Intelligences*, 90.

report to Wood that challenged the Sultan of Sulu's power and authority.<sup>27</sup> The American government rejected Saleeby's interpretation and sided with the German translator. This eruption in the early training of Saleeby as a colonial agent marked Saleeby's suspect position in the milieu of rehearsing and dramatizing allegiance. It marks the severance to kinship. A break for the rigor of training to be transposed to all notional families. The athleticism of Saleeby's self-developing criticality generated new works: *The History of Sulu* (1908), *Rise and Prosperity of Sulu* (1908), *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos* (1912), and *The Moro Problem: An Academic Discussion of the History and Solution of the Problem of the Government of the Moros of the Philippine Islands* (1913). The duty and maintenance of trainings contributed to his unwavering will.

These preparatory pedagogic techniques point to the ways that Saleeby concedes to the practice of retraining himself as a "being a different person molded to live in a different culture, trained to relate to people in a different manner, psychologically motivated to live a different life."<sup>28</sup> He re-envisioned the world by re-orienting his desires. Saleeby's rehearsal became apparent in a prism that diffracts the outcome of training: resistance. Comforted by identitarian "in-betweenness" and "inconclusivity",<sup>29</sup> the dimmed verisimilitude in Saleeby locks the interpretative environment of American colonial masters, while his retraining instantiates a system of formation, in which processes of subjectivation blocks the accrual of programmatic actions of de- and postcoloniality. Saleeby's ascetic-like spiritual practice abstains from a complete withdrawal in the terrain of violence. Moderate as it may be, this ascetic method that Foucault calls "practices of the self" forms the ethical subject. Saleeby outlines his moral conduct in the ascetic condition of the cultural, "the fundamental operating ground on which the particular culture is overlaid."<sup>30</sup> For a beaten sub-body, the transfiguration comes in the functionality of meaning; the new figuration of symbolic and social order begins with communication. Perhaps the conference Saleeby invoked in his 1923 essay taunts us with another common politicality that structures the ethical nature of creating opposites without collapsing them but undermining their polarities—a symposium of ambivalence.<sup>31</sup>

### **To know thyself endlessly: Mamitua Saber (1921-1992)**

The preface of Saber's graduate thesis *Marginal Leadership in Culture-Contact Situation* (1957) entreats the reader to find his new identity. Saber un masks his foreign status when he reveals himself as a "convert" and an "illustrator". It is not unthinkable to reflect on this transformation as a strike of vanity. When writing about marginal leadership, one of the important contributions to Mindanao's postcolonial discourse, Saber en folds his role as a "follower," a distancing from the centrality of his contribution as a private citizen and an approximation to his "crude beginnings". He admits that his "illustrations" are "inadequate" with "pioneering" degree of valence "despite all their inherent defects" in local and universal scholarship. At this very moment of grace, he is actively renouncing his leadership. Saber's vanity denies his body of the potency, but at the same time attracts us to be tempted by the same potency of light. Here, Saber gives himself up to be the gap where reading could permeate. He ceases to be the characters being written about, and assumes the position of the narrator. His conversion as an illustrator is articulated as station, a passing site of sociality, where creation and termination move like wind:

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27 For full discussion of this incident, see Marr, *Diasporic Intelligences*, 86.

28 See Valantasis, *Social Function of Asceticism*, 548.

29 Sarah Gualtieri cited in Marr, *Diasporic Intelligences*, 91.

30 See Valantasis, *Social Function of Asceticism*, 546.

31 Ibid.

In a nutshell, that is the story of my life. There is no ego attached to this short autobiography. I simply wish to present the facts to the “laboratory” of social science about my social metamorphosis and humble leadership in the changing society of our people. My present station in life came through gradual stages from my birth in a rural village in Moroland where eastern and western cultures have met.<sup>32</sup>

As Saber rewrites himself, he is un-writing the expressible locutionary impulses of biography. A denegation of his world, Saber spent copious amount of time and text to institute a 109-page autobiography as the most important section of his thesis he calls “The Document”. An appendix longer than the literature and scientific analysis of his theoretical project, his academic output depreciates his former bios, his classical world so to speak, by bringing to the fore a world, “that is the story of my life”. Saber created himself in order to view the world from outside. These multiple Sabers ensues the loss of faith in the available language for his voices “rolled in one.” He trusts that oddity of monologic appearance as more sensitive medium of new experience. In the first section of “The Document,” he inscribes who he is,

The autobiographical section of the case depicts the writer in the role-play of two persons in himself even if the composition is not in a dialogue form. First, he places himself in the role of a Filipino “native informant” (in fact he is) giving the plain facts to a second person, his “interviewer,” himself, too: In the present dissertation, he also takes the role of a sociological “analyst”. Here is a strange “monologue,” a role-play of an “informant-anthropologist-sociologist” rolled in one. It appears Biblical “to know thyself”. How should scientists know individuals and societies if they do not know themselves first? As a humble student of sociology, this writer looks back at himself and his own society in order to gain, at least, a working understanding of American society where he was not born and reared.<sup>33</sup>

The defenselessness of Saber’s dim body affirms the pain he carries and the compensatory power he also possesses as the narrator. But as he also admits, his “social metamorphosis”<sup>34</sup> in the antagonistic environs of “two worlds” shows his deathlike suspension between pleasure and pain. Saber incessantly re-integrates himself in mimetic conditions throughout the thesis. The process, almost like an ideogram of his transformation, elaborates not his withdrawal from the world, but his way of building an encounter to its unknowability. Saber invoking the necessity of a “strange monologue” as he enumerates the roles he is taking for research. In Saber’s role-play, his conversion shapes a moral formation as he redresses himself as a “personal guide” and an “investigator”, in addition to his narrator function but alternative to his task as the “writer.” Saber confesses in different moments that he could not elevate his study to a higher scientific understanding, that he operates from the immensity of limitations in his vicinity; In a sense, what he could all do is to present things as he overcomes his phases of denegation. His painful metamorphosis is “the agent of punishment that is both pedagogic and retributive.”<sup>35</sup> Saber’s body is not only dim but also a disturbance.

Saber’s metamorphosis gains visibility in a social world. The qualities of Saber’s metamorphosis is fungibility are erasures in the memory of sociality. Like Saleeby, the scenes of the social world apportion them with retributive justice for being present in the world,

One day in our coffeeshop, a Christian lieutenant saw inside the counter my collection of pictorial

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32 See Mamitua Saber *Marginal Leadership in Culture-Contact Situation* (Kansas: Unpublished graduate thesis, 1957) .

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid. A term used by Saber himself.

35 See Edith Wyschogrod “The Howl of Oedipus, the Cry of Heloise: From Asceticism to Postmodern Ethics” in *Asceticism* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1998), 16-30.



illustrations of the Japanese invasion of the Philippines. I procured the bound volume from looters of a Japanese sentry post which was deserted. He requested the volume to be shown him and shortly afterward he remarked: "You pro-Japanese? Why do you keep these pictures?"<sup>36</sup>

The social order had failed Saber, and this confrontation allows him to claim his duality, or in his own words "double loyalty", as the foreigner of his context. His foreign-ness—a native who owns pictures of the Japanese invasion—restituted him back to the erotics of his place not on the terms he was previously held as "a 'datu' with traditional leadership among [his] kinsmen or "an educated Maranaw". Through his "mixed feeling of anger and pride" that his moi swells back again "to grab the pictorial book from [a guerrilla]". His suffering of not being recognized by another Filipino transgresses his assigned corporeality and enters the body of ethics, "a brake or restraint upon the active self prior to action, even to deliberation."<sup>37</sup> This enacts the dim body of Saber to endure pain as instrument and goal of transformation. Keeping his body alive, the same eros resurfaces in Saber giving himself to, concentrating his love to the "dry and monotonous town in the presence of enemy occupation."<sup>38</sup> He declined several offers to join the guerrilla movement as an officer. Pain challenged Saber's self-righteousness and in turn, the designation of collaboration and complicity with the Japanese "provoked his sensitive thought in the midst of the bitter antagonism between guerrillas and non-guerrillas". This moment of exposure to the other exemplifies that dim bodies regardless of vulnerability participate in the sphere of moral deliberation and in discourses of justice. Saber as a "double loyalty", as a foreigner, is also a juridical entity. As his ego is perpetually shattered, symbolically, in various roles he takes, he is continuously faced with the Other. When a sub-body encounters the Other, he negotiates and prepares for a new social space for him to see and place the Other higher than himself.<sup>39</sup> This ethical task, which Saber interprets, points to generosity of the dim body despite its flight from the original, denegated self.

### Choosing the sick body

The formation of prefixes in colonial bodies presages their discursivity. Saleeby and Saber qualify their descent into the unchanging de- and postcolonial future by choosing a body that unites perversity and illness. They received Mindanao: Both figures lend their bodily existence as fields of sensation and receptivity in order to hold fantasy. Together, conjoined here in singular sameness, their autonomic pairing intertwines pain and thinking onto the ground that exposes aesthetic articulation. Sub-bodies are active; site-specific, their passivity unfolds in exercising the spirit of critique across transitory promises of escape and meditation. They do return. A long return, so strongly desired in vain and isolation. This writing is a recurrence of Saleeby-Saber: Summarizing the literature of Marginal Leadership, Saber at his desk in Kansas initially "returned" to Saleeby in his confessional deliberation that the "problem" still pervades. Saber was referencing Saleeby's 1913 lecture on the "Moro problem", an emotional interval in which the helpless Saber return to the inaugural status of Moro-ness falling "helpless" on Saleeby's lips. This moment envisages the non-convalescence of dim bodies. The ethical formation and training of Saleeby and Saber illustrates that a world re-envisioned might have had injured or killed all good agencies in the processes of renewal. Restituting the bodies is another castration in history. The individual mortifications of Saleeby and Saber testify that the most horrifying thing—sickness—also intensifies the pleasure

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36 See Mamtua Saber *Marginal Leadership in Culture-Contact Situation* (Kansas: Unpublished graduate thesis, 1957) .

37 See Wyschogrod, "The Howl of Oedipus," 27.

38 See Saber, *Marginal Leadership*.

39 See Edith Wyschogrod "The Howl of Oedipus, the Cry of Heloise: From Asceticism to Postmodern Ethics" in *Asceticism* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1998), 16-30.

of lack. Two marginal men enjoying themselves are “ex-corporated”<sup>40</sup> as a twin black devil incarnate<sup>41</sup> in the vicious cycle of dominant fictions. The textual intercourse of Saleeby and Saber both attests to an idiopathic living of a colonial body in a masochistic past and celebrates the heteropathic ego in an unexpected future. For Saleeby-Saber, sickness is an almost infinite extension of chance: the gross foreign-ness that assaults all subjectivities.



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40 For an elaborate discussion of “ex-corporation” as opposed to incorporation, see Silverman *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*.

41 The colonial concretization and abstraction of Moros exposed by Saleeby in *The Moro Problem*.